

'THAT WE MIGHT LIVE' THE STORY OF TEGARE

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Introduction

The village of Tegare sits perched on the Drina River in Northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. The nearest city is Bratunac, located approximately 10 kilometers from Tegare. Across the Drina, the streetlights from Serbia and Montenegro interrupt the darkness of winter nights. The village itself has seen better days: it remains largely destroyed from the war (1992-1995) and most families living within it are now incomplete. The community includes both Serb and Bosniak households, one school with four pupils, and a small store. While before the war the community members often worked in nearby mines and factories, the current economy is almost entirely based on subsistence agriculture.

The Mozaik Community Development Foundation (then called the NGO Development Foundation, hereafter referred to as 'Mozaik') worked with BH Care International and the local NGO Priroda (based in Bratunac) on an integrated sustainable return project in Tegare during the autumn of 2003.¹ This project incorporated the civil society component of Care International's sustainable return program and most tangibly included the construction of a road. However, the project also focused on incorporating community members into the planning and implementation of this road-building project as part of Mozaik's overarching goal to build social cohesion² and encourage broader participation in community life.

This paper represents only the first part of a wider research project conducted by the author. Tegare is the first community in a three-community case-study that includes two other remote, returnee villages in different geographic areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This research is part of an effort by Mozaik to understand the motivations for and barriers to community engagement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As such, the interview questions focus on citizen participation in formal community activities and organizations and informal community life.³

Tegare itself does not have any formal community organizations, it has been involved with the work of numerous international organizations, the local NGO Priroda, and the local Mjesna Zajednica.⁴ As such, the aspects of community participation that I attempted to measure in Tegare were related to the frequency and nature of informal interaction between residents and the level of trust between citizens. I began the research with the hypothesis that individuals' sense of ability and feelings of inclusion in community activities would be the primary factors influencing their motivation to participate in such activities. I expected the two most frequent answers to the question 'Why did you not

¹ While Mozaik is a local organization in the sense that it is an indigenous organization to Bosnia and Herzegovina, throughout the course of this work local NGOs or local partners will refer to community based NGOs throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina that are recipients of Mozaik grants.

² Mozaik defines this concept in the following manner: "Social cohesion is a state of harmonious and productive social relations where community members, irrespective of differences in social and economic status, share common values and goals, have a sense of mutual commitment and belonging to the community, a sense of solidarity, responsibility and mutual recognition, and participate in activities for the common good."

³ See Appendices I-III

⁴ The Mjesna Zajednica—or MZ— (Literally 'Community Place') was a structure of community organizations resembling community councils that was prevalent throughout pre-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. MZs have been reestablished in some areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the post-war period.

participate in X project?’ to be variations on, ‘Because no one asked me,’ and ‘Because I have nothing to offer.’

Due in part to the lack of formal organizations based or working over the long-term in Tegare, the more interesting question became, ‘Why did X project never happen?’ As I came to understand more about Tegare, I identified a sense of disempowerment that prevented individuals from taking their lives into their own hands and working independently to improve their community. This in large part seems to be due to the feelings of inadequacy and inability that I anticipated might prevent individuals from participating in organized projects. In the case of Tegare, it slowly became clear that this sense of disempowerment also prevents, in many cases at least, the citizens of Tegare from organizing themselves effectively in order to improve their lives through their own actions.

An additional aspect of my earlier hypothesis was the idea that gender and trauma would be key variables affecting a given individual’s sense of ability and inclusion in community activities. In the case of Tegare, gender is a clear influencing factor regarding one’s perceived ability to change life in the community. Women are, across the board, far more likely to believe that they are, due to their gender, unable to offer anything of significance to improve their own lives and those of their neighbors. The second factor, trauma endured, appears to have only a minimal effect on participation or sense of adequacy. Many individuals who endured severe trauma during the war and even some who displayed clear symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder were among the most active community members within the existing informal networks of neighborly support.

Another factor that I expected to influence community participation is not an individual factor but rather a collective one: a strong sense of community identity, I hypothesized, would create a tradition and expectation of involvement in community activities. Though a single case study is not enough to offer conclusions on this point, Tegare is a community that lacks a tradition of participation in community activities or projects and also lacks a sense of community identity.

Another aspect of this research focuses on how development organizations and Mozaik in particular can better facilitate widespread community participation in community-based projects. Part of the answer to this question is a derivation of the first: if organizations better understand the motivations for and barriers to individual participation in community activities, then they can better design their efforts to include new participants. I also expected to see a certain level of feedback between the programmatic and individual aspects of community engagement such that successful previous projects would lead to an increased willingness on the part of citizens to participate in future collective efforts.

Individual leadership was another factor that I hypothesized might play a significant role in motivating citizen participation. In the case of Tegare, this proved to be a very important, if not the most important, factor in motivating many citizens to participate in planned activities. The Bosniak population in Tegare largely relies on Sabrija Halilović, the president of the return process, for his guidance in contemporary life as well. When Sabrija asks individuals to participate, they do so. Contrastingly, the Serb population in Tegare has no single leader that is so faithfully trusted. It does not, however, appear that

it is extremely difficult to recruit Serbs to participate in a given activity once such an activity has already been planned. This returns to the importance of feeling included, present in my initial hypothesis. The Serbs have rarely been included in post-war assistance projects in Tegare; when they are asked to participate, they seem to respond just as willingly as the Bosniaks.

However, individual leadership influences an important aspect of community engagement that my hypothesis largely ignored: the importance of creating a starting point for such future collective efforts. Without programs in which to participate, the willingness to do so means little.

Due to legal barriers surrounding ownership of the land upon which the road was to be constructed, Mozaik's usual focus on citizen responsibility for the project was under-emphasized. The negotiations regarding the ownership of land were involved and sensitive; much of that work was done by Mozaik and Priroda staff members rather than by citizens of Tegare themselves (though a small group of citizens was included in that process). There is no sense of political empowerment and advocacy ability within the population of Tegare, despite the fact that all but one citizen interviewed voted or attempted to vote in the 2004 municipal elections.⁵ Even Sabrija, an established leader, lacks the ability to 'mobilize local resources'⁶ and lobby others, especially the local government, for help in the absence of an external source of assistance, such as Mozaik, Priroda or an international organization.

The rest of this work focuses on the 'story of Tegare' and will be an ethnographic sketch of community life, with a consideration of what this story might imply for Tegare's future. I will return to this data, and to the questions of participation and engagement explored above, in a comprehensive piece written after the conclusion of all three case studies in the larger research project.

Methodology

The research period in Tegare included four weeks of living in the community, with a Bosniak host family, from Sunday through Wednesday of each week. During that time, I conducted two focus groups, 31 formal interviews (all but two of them tape recorded) and numerous informal 'interviews' and 'focus groups' over coffee in the various homes in Tegare.

The first week of research was spent largely building trust and conducting focus groups with village women entitled, 'Give me a Tour of Your Community.' Together, we drew maps of their community and spoke briefly about life there. These sessions included only

⁵ I interviewed a total of 25 residents of Tegare, out of an estimated population of 40 households. (There is no official population data on Tegare as the last census was conducted before the war and as such is fully outdated. There are an estimated 160 houses in Tegare, but many of them remain uninhabited.) Three citizens reported that this year their names were not on the lists of registered voters at their previous polling location. All three indicated that they would try to vote again in the next elections.

⁶ Mobilizing local resources is a goal set forth by Mozaik Foundation in all of its community activities. This goal relates to the expectation and requirement that local communities will work to gather in-kind contributions and monetary donations from local firms, citizens, and government offices. A related concept is Mozaik's focus on community mobilization, especially focused on recruiting voluntary labor for community projects, that is in fact a goal of human resource mobilization.

women as a way to gain entry into community life and introduce myself. If the sessions had been mixed by gender, it was my fear and suspicion that the women would defer to the men present.

The first time that I asked my host family to help me gather women from ‘their community’ (an intentionally ambiguous request), they gathered the Bosniak women from Tegare. As such, the sessions were segregated by ethnicity through no conscious effort by the researcher. It is important to note that I also made no effort to consciously integrate the sessions, wanting instead to conduct the sessions with groups in a comfortable space and to observe how individuals living in Tegare defined their own community, or as the case turned out to be, communities. This was my first hint that there are, in fact, two Tegares within that one village, a reality that will be explored further in the body of this work.

Over the course of the remaining three weeks in Tegare, I focused my attention on one-on-one interviews with community members, largely through a snowball sample selection process.⁷ I made every effort to have equal representation of men, women, Bosniaks, Serbs, and young and elderly people, as well as geographic diversity in terms of the precise location of an individual’s house within Tegare. While the end results were not ideal, they are somewhat representative. Men are underrepresented in the study, but they are also underrepresented within the population of Tegare. Likewise, the young are underrepresented in both the study and the actual demography of the village. I almost achieved a balance of Serbs and Muslims interviewed; however, in this case it is important to note that the community is majority Serb so this representation is in fact disproportionate. In addition, I conducted interviews with people from outside of Tegare who have worked there: one Monitoring and Evaluation staff member from Mozaik and two employees of the local NGO Priroda, and a group of women and a community leader from the nearby village of Orlica.⁸

Names used in the body of this work are fictional to protect the confidentiality of interview subjects, and any similarities to actual names of Tegare residents are accidental. I did attempt to match fictional names with the actual ethnicity of interview subjects, such that Serbs tend to have typically Serb names, etc. Sabrija Halilović, the president of the returnees, is referenced by name in segments specifically relating to his role as a community leader. Likewise, Mozaik staff member Eni Kurtović is referenced by name.

⁷ A snowball sample indicates that I interviewed everyone that I knew who was willing to be interviewed and asked those individuals for suggestions of who else I might interview. Toward the end of the research, I was able to cater these questions to target groups I knew were underrepresented in my study, for example, asking a Serb man I interviewed if he knew any other men who might be willing to speak with me, knowing that any men he suggested would also be Serbs.

⁸ Of 25 interviews with residents of Tegare, 10 were Serb while 15 were Bosniak, 16 were women and 9 were men. In addition, I interviewed three NGO professionals who have worked in Tegare in the last two years as well as one male (Serb) community leader from neighboring village of Orlica and conducted an informal focus group with a group of 7 (Serb) women from Orlica. The average age of interviewees was 55, with the youngest being 18 and the oldest 78.

‘The most beautiful village’

When he was younger, my son—the one that I don’t have now—was best friends with C_____’s son. He used to sleep here all the time, and our son would sleep there. They were always together. There was never any talk about who was Muslim and who was Serb.

-Alma

It is impossible to capture Tegare before the 1992-1995 war tore it apart. Even the memories of those who reside in Tegare have surely become glossed over in the inevitable tides of idealization that shape citizens memories of their pre-war home. However, by all accounts, life in Tegare was generally pleasant before the war, and certainly much better than it is now.

Given its location on the Drina River and in what was once an economically viable area of the former Yugoslavia (especially within the contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina), it is unsurprising that Tegare’s residents remember a better time. Emir recalled, ‘Tegare was a bit known before, or shall I say, we were on the map of Yugoslavia. The map of Yugoslavia had Tegare.’

Many residents of Tegare went to Belgrade to work as private builders while others found work in the mines near Srebrenica or the multiple factories operating in the area. There were some residents who worked in the fields or made their living off the farm animals; however, it seems that many women did this work while their husbands brought in income from jobs within the formal economy.

At the very least, those working in agriculture before the war knew a life very different from the subsistence agriculture that currently categorizes Tegare’s economy. ‘Now, we have nothing. Before the war, there was a market to sell milk. I have a cow and 20 liters of milk but nowhere to sell it. If only I could just sell 15 liters...but no one wants it.’ (Samir)

In addition, the work in the fields was previously both easier and more prosperous given the abundance of machines and the market for produce. ‘Before the war, I had my family’s tractor and car. You never had to ask for anything, everyone worked together. If someone worked on something, you helped them out the same way ... If there were no war, there would be electricity from Bratunac to Fokavići. There was a bus every hour, you did not need a car. There were trains to Tuzla and Sarajevo. The buses were always full. We worked for firms. We had money, cows... Before the war, the poor people were the people who would not work and nothing more.’ (Emir)

‘Before I had sons, a tractor—I worked on my own house. I built my own house!’ exclaimed Ruža. The demographic difference mentioned in by Ruža is important to note: before the war, Tegare was a community with the standard representation of men and women, elderly and young. It was a community with its own school that was well-connected to other villages and the nearby city of Bratunac. This demographic difference—the contemporary absence of youth and young adults—is one of the most dramatic differences between pre- and post-war Tegare.

One of the few young people currently residing in Tegare, Sead, recalled, ‘Before the war, there were lots of young people here...Before they had sports leagues and football. I was good at football, too. It made up for not being so good at school.’

Many of the village residents were born and raised in Tegare, as were their parents. Most women moved to Tegare when they were married from nearby villages in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro. Though those people born in Tegare and those who moved there later in life tended to say that there was no special meaning attached to living in Tegare, there were some individuals who expressed a strong sense of pride in place. Boris, a sixty-five-year-old man said, ‘I am proud of Tegare. Here I was born, and here I went to school.’

Interestingly, the first thing that many people that I interviewed thought of when they heard the word Tegare was ‘That it will be how it was.’ More than anything else, what the old Tegare had that modern Tegare lacks is a sense of contentment and untarnished hope. Families were complete, lives were relatively stable, and relationships between neighbors, regardless of ethnicity, were marked by close bonds of trust and friendship.

Muslims and Serbs alike recall that their children all attended the same school while their parents developed close, almost familial friendships with one another. Alma recalled wistfully, ‘I have a sister, and before the war I felt like I was with my own sister when I was with my neighbors.’

‘Before the war, it was a happy life. We worked. There were factories, it wasn’t bad. And now it’s the same, we live. It’s good as far as I know. But before the war, Serbs and Muslims, we were good friends. When there was a death, we would go to their (funerals) and they would come to ours. We were like one house. Both them with us and us with them, always. You couldn’t wish for anything better,’ said Petar.

‘You can’t imagine how it was before. Why did this war have to happen?’ (Emir)

Unfathomable Change

‘I never imagined that I might kill B _____ or C _____ - [my neighbors]- or that my children might, that was far from me. I never could have imagined it, and I did not do it. Neither did I think that they could kill me or my children.’

-Emir

When the war began in the former Yugoslavia in 1992, it raged in Northeastern Bosnia—in and around Tegare. The first year of the war was marked by severe violence between Bosniak and the Bosnian Serb/Serb armies. This violence is poorly documented by official or journalistic sources, but it is forever engraved in the memories of those who lived in Tegare during that time.

As one Serb woman recalled, ‘My sons were on their way home and they got killed. They were trying to get an animal to feed the family and the Muslims shot them and they died. I have my own forest, but now there is no one to go up there and bring the wood to us.’

Many women, both Serb and Bosniak, lost their sons and husbands during the three-year duration of the war. Said another Serb woman, 'In 1992, my son died and I could not get help for the gravestone. I am old and I cannot walk far and I got sent all around.'

During the first year of the war especially, Tegare and surrounding villages were the site of the destructive house-to-house fighting that raged throughout much of Bosnia and Herzegovina, bringing about large scale destruction and causing both Serbs and Muslims to lose all or much of their homes in the process.

The Bosniak residents of Tegare fled the village and went in the direction of Srebrenica in the Spring of 1992. Emir recalled, 'On the 13th of May of 1992, I left my house for a small village in the hills near Srebrenica. Later in 1992, I went to the city of Srebrenica itself, where we stayed until the Fall of Srebrenica.'

Alma also shared her memories of the day that she left Tegare, 'I will never forget the day that we left Tegare. My son had just finished school and we left...(a local Bosniak army commander) told us that we had to leave, that something was going to happen. That was the 9th of May, 1992.'

The Bosniaks who left Tegare settled first in villages in the hills near Srebrenica. In the latter parts of 1992 and 1993, most of the Bosniaks from Tegare sought safety in the city of Srebrenica. Srebrenica was not declared a 'safe area' and protected by UNPROFOR troops until April 1993. Before that time, it was a Muslim enclave defended by the Bosnian army. Srebrenica saw its pre-war population increase dramatically between 1992 and 1995, when the 'safe area' fell to the Serbs.⁹ The city itself could not support this population influx, and both space and food were inadequate.

Over the next few years, some residents of Tegare secretly returned to their homes in search of food. Alma remembered, 'My daughter and I used to come back to Tegare, and sometimes we would have problems when we did. One time, we were alone picking cucumbers and a neighbor asked us to have coffee with him. I turned my head away from him and simply said, 'Dobar Dan.'''¹⁰

On another occasion when Alma and her daughter had returned to Tegare in search of food, the 'Black Berets,' or Yugoslav paramilitary troops, 'Came up the hills in a straight line. We crouched down and hid in a destroyed house—I had to hope that [my daughter] would stay quiet...Later, they were gone, and we found our old [Bosniak] neighbor and returned to Srebrenica.'

Though it seems that the Bosniaks from Tegare remained in relatively close contact while they were in Srebrenica, when Srebrenica fell in July 1995 this ability to maintain a sense of community and neighborly solidarity largely dissipated as people dispersed throughout the country and many of them disappeared for good.

⁹ For a very good summary of events taking place in and around Srebrenica both before and after it was declared a 'Safe Area' and during the Fall of Srebrenica in 1995 see the book: *A Safe Area. Srebrenica: Europe's Worst Massacre Since the Second World War* by David Rohde.

¹⁰ Dobar Dan literally means good day and is the most frequently used formal greeting in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In July 1995, when the Bosnian Serb army took Srebrenica, many Bosniaks fled to the nearby UNPROFOR base at Potočari. This became the site of numerous atrocities, as Aida recalled vividly, 'Before the war, I had six brothers. Now, they are all gone. One of them was killed at Potočari.' She slid her finger across her throat. 'They put us in buses, the women and children. The men went in trucks...'

The exact death count from the Fall of Srebrenica is unknown, although a report issued by the Bosnian Serb Government's Srebrenica Commission in 2004 acknowledged that the number of dead exceeded 7,000 Bosniaks.¹¹ One of the lasting traumas of Srebrenica's fall is the legacy of disappearance, only a small fraction of those 7,000 plus bodies have been found and even fewer have been identified. Bosniaks residing in Tegare refer to these men as those who 'have not arrived' rather than those who died or who have not returned.¹²

Some men did manage to escape the fates of those taken away from Potočari by truck, these men fled over the hills in the direction of Tuzla, a city that is today a three-hour drive from Srebrenica. Emir often seemed to lose his sense of chronology as he relived the terror, 'For four days I did not see even a little bit of bread or eggs. If I found some wild apples, we ate those. One part of the road, I cannot remember. I saw big buildings, in big cities. They had open windows with beds... That's what I saw. I saw a pretty village, with all nice houses. Beautiful houses, all fine and with open windows. It was wonderful, with open beds. Always, I dreamed like this, I wanted to sleep.'

By the end of 1996, most residents of Tegare—Bosniak and Serb alike—had lost at least one member of their family and many had seen their homes destroyed. Many Serbs from Tegare were living in homes closer to Bratunac because their own homes were destroyed, while the Bosniaks who survived the Fall of Srebrenica mostly settled in and around Tuzla, but some went to areas around Sarajevo while still others sought refuge abroad.

The Reality of Two Tegares

'Which (Tegare), ours or theirs?'

-Vesna

It is not surprising, given the history of Tegare and the fact that villagers were widely dispersed by 1996, that Tegare no longer exists as a single community in any real sense.

¹¹ For information regarding the RS Government's Srebrenica Commission report, see <http://www.haverford.edu/relg/sells/reports/RSCommission7800.htm>. The text of the report has not been released to the public, but the Human Rights Commission has accepted the report, which found that the Srebrenica massacres were 'planned' and assigned responsibility for the atrocities committed to the Bosnian Serb army.

¹² In local language, the phrase 'On nije došao' is used to say, literally, 'He has not arrived.' Contrastingly, the phrase 'On nije vratao,' meaning 'He has not returned,' is used to refer to those members of a family who reside elsewhere in BiH or abroad. Typically, across BiH, the phrase Sada nemam svog sina 'Now I do not have my son,' is often used to refer to members of the family who have died. This phrase is sometimes used with reference to those who disappeared during the Fall of Srebrenica as well, however the term for 'He has not arrived' is something that I have not heard used outside of the context of disappearance in Tegare or elsewhere in BiH.

Instead, Tegare is currently two distinct, but inextricably linked, communities. A number of interview questions referred to ‘your community.’ In response to such questions, people of both ethnicities very frequently asked, ‘Ours or theirs?’

It is clear, however, that despite the losses suffered on both sides of the previously non-existent ethnic divide in Tegare, most residents of Tegare separate the war and its horrors from their neighbors, and from themselves. It is abundantly clear to most in Tegare that this was the politicians’ war, rather than a war born of the people in Tegare.

‘I have nothing. Karadzic’s son has everything. Karadzic’s son is not poor, Alija Izetbegovic’s son is not poor. They should have nothing if I have nothing.’ (Emir)

Serb Tegare

‘Nobody cares about me.’

The role of loss is profound within the Serb community in Tegare, which I will sometimes refer to as Serb Tegare. Demographically, the Serb community within Tegare is heavily tilted toward elderly women, many of them alone or nearly alone in their homes. ‘Before the war, my family worked together. It was good. Now I have stayed alone. What can I do? I cannot work.’ (Radmila)

This profound sense of loneliness is also a source of pragmatic concern for many of the elderly women. ‘Nobody comes to see me. How will it be when snow falls and I am old and alone in the house? Nobody cares about me,’ said Gordana during the mapping focus group session. Another woman jumped into the conversation, ‘Nobody, Nobody.’

This sense of loneliness is heightened by two major factors: the gender demographics of the population in Tegare and the pattern of post-war assistance. In both the Serb and Bosniak populations in Tegare, women outnumber men by a significant amount. Said Danijela, ‘We don’t have men. We don’t have anything.’

Answers to questions ranging from ‘Can you do anything to make life better here?’ to ‘Do people here trust one another?’ often elicited responses of ‘I am a woman, I don’t know.’ Radmila, who was interviewed in a house with other Serb women present,¹³ had no immediate response to the question, ‘Can you do anything to make life better here?’ In her silence, others quickly intervened to say, ‘She has no children! She is just a woman alone. If anyone can help, they are welcome.’

The view that without someone to help there is no way to improve life in Tegare is widespread, not only in Serb Tegare but, as we will see later, in Bosniak Tegare as well. One key dynamic within Serb Tegare, however, is the belief that such help is unlikely to

¹³ Though I preferred to interview people one-on-one, it was often difficult to be alone during the interviews. Especially when interviewing women, the husband or other women were often present. While I worried about the realities of peer pressure guiding women’s answers when interviews were conducted in the presence of other women, I found that women were still more vocal in the presence of their neighbors than their husbands.

arrive. 'The Serbs do not get any help here,' I was told repeatedly over the course of my stay in Tegare.

During the focus group that I conducted with Serb women, the moment I walked in the door the women did not seem as if they could speak quickly enough. Very few people have come into Tegare to find out what they think or need, and they seemed concerned that they might lose their only chance to express their concerns about the inadequacy of the water system in Tegare above all else.

A few families did receive assistance from the municipal government for the reconstruction of their homes. However, people interviewed often indicated that they found such help to be insufficient. 'We were living in a Muslim house near Bratunac,' Barbara told me. 'They came and said we had to leave, so I said, 'Fix my house and I will.' The municipality loaned me money to fix my house—and then a guy came to take pictures of it. I said, 'No. I fixed that. Go upstairs and take pictures of that.'" The second floor of Barbara's house remains an empty shell of what was once the second story of her home.

'I got only a very little bit of help from Bratunac as far as materials for my house were concerned. I said to the politicians, it was your war, it is your problem,' Petar said of his attempt to acquire government assistance for rebuilding his house.

The geographic region in which Tegare is situated has received a large influx of international assistance in the post-war years, much of it channeled through programs such as the UNDP Srebrenica Regional Recovery Program.¹⁴ However, the Serb community in Tegare has had little interaction with such international assistance projects. Even the international projects taking place in Tegare rarely considered involving or employing the Serb population in their implementation. For example, one international agency built numerous houses in Tegare but brought construction workers from the faraway city of Bihać, a fact not lost on Petar, himself a construction worker (specifically a home-builder) before the war. '[No one asked me to participate], not one person. No one ever asked.' He then quietly added, 'But I never said anything either.'

In an additional challenge to improving life in Serb Tegare, there is no single member of the Serb community in Tegare that stands forward as the leader, though a few individuals display leadership qualities and seem to be potential leaders. One Serb man, Petar, seems to be, in many ways, the Serb parallel to the Bosniak leader Sabrija Halilović. He is one of the few members of the community who has previously petitioned local government officials for assistance and received at least partial assistance. However, it seems unlikely that he will step forward as a leader without being asked to do so by someone else. Alone, he feels incapable of doing anything to improve life in his community. 'With help I could do something,' he said. 'But without help...' he drifted off.

Some members of the Serb community in Tegare have approached the local Mjesna Zajednica (MZ) for help in the past. 'I went to the MZ to sign up with them for some help with materials, in the end I failed to sign my name. (A Serb man there) said, oh how that woman from Tegare spoke...' recounted Nada angrily. 'I was supposed to be able to go there to sign up for help, but he did not allow me to!'

¹⁴ For more information, see <http://www.srrp.undp.ba>.

While most Serb women in Tegare have not attempted to approach the MZ directly as Nada did, the majority of them do express distrust toward and dissatisfaction with the MZ. In fact, when asked if they were aware of what the MZ does, many women claimed that ‘We do not have an MZ in Tegare.’ (Radmila)

Barbara, who lives near a school that the MZ recently built in Tegare, near the border with the nearby village of Orlica, replied, ‘They built a school.’ Other women in the room began asking her questions, apparently unaware of the fact that the MZ was behind the school’s construction. ‘Yes, yes,’ Barbara replied. ‘People came from Bratunac.’

Branka expressed distrust in the MZ and its leadership. She said, ‘Sabrija fights for his. Dragan (The Mjesna Zajednica president) is not ours; he does not fight for us.’ Though the Mjesna Zajednica president is a Serb, because he does not live in Tegare or, apparently, spend a great deal of time there, he is not trusted as a representative of Tegare’s needs by either the Serbs or the Bosniaks.

Despite this apparent state of apathy or at least disempowerment, the Serb residents of Tegare cling to hope for a better future. Nada, when asked what she thinks of first when she thinks of Tegare, said, ‘That it will be good. That our children will have work and that they will have some friends, that there will be some kind of work.’

Bosniak Tegare

‘When I returned to my homeland Tegare, that is when I was the happiest.’
-Emir

The role of loss seems less acute in Bosniak Tegare as it is overshadowed by the role of ownership, despite the extraordinary losses that the Bosniaks endured during the war. When asked why they returned to Tegare after the war, what they think of first when they think of Tegare, and if living in Tegare has any meaning, Bosniaks most frequently responded with a statement that reflected the importance of ownership.

Emina expressed the importance of ownership when she was speaking about the meaning of living in Tegare. ‘This is mine. No one can say to me, ‘This is mine, I have the right (to this place), go to yours.’ That is the most important thing.’ Given that many Bosniaks in Tegare fled their homes in the face of violence, it is unsurprising that the fact that another cannot deny them the rights to their homes is considered the most important aspect of life in Tegare.

‘(I returned) because the land is mine here. I worked on it and my parents worked on it and here they are buried,’ said Ahmed. Ahmed was born in Tegare in 1935 and his entire family, four sons and his wife, were killed during the war. He now lives alone without electricity or water, a good distance from his nearest neighbor. Despite his clear identification with the land, the first things that Ahmed thought of when he thought of Tegare were, ‘I do not have electricity, I am alone, I cannot receive water all by myself, and that it is all.’

Even with their clear emphasis on the importance of ownership and returning to their own land, many Bosniaks in Tegare associate Tegare much more with the past than with the future. For many, Tegare is a place full of memories—a place where lives that were cut short by war were lived. ‘[When I think of Tegare] the first thing is about change. When I came back [it had changed], before everyone was with us, children were in school. Now I do not have a son, I do not have a husband...’ Elma told me, her voice drifting off as she disappeared into a private world of quiet sadness.

Izmira replied to the question, ‘What do you think of first when you think of Tegare?’ by saying, ‘In the first place, that I might live how I lived before. I think that it is like that. But it is different because I do not have my children. How can I live alone? I cannot if I do not have family. How can I live alone? I do not have my children like before.’

As is true in Serb Tegare, Bosniak Tegare’s population consists largely of women. Emina, a fifty-year-old, energetic Bosniak woman who lives with her son and daughter-in-law said, ‘We do not have men. For example, I need to go beg someone else for help. If we do not have men, we need to call someone else and then (we need) to pay.’ This sentiment was echoed by most Bosniak women interviewed and many Serbs as well.

The problem of unemployment is a major barrier to convincing men, and especially young men, to return to Tegare. While many of the women in the village lost their husbands in the war, the majority of them have at least one living child elsewhere in the country or abroad. When asked what the biggest problem facing Tegare was, Samir responded, ‘Our children do not have work. The biggest problem is that firms that worked (here) before do not work now. I have four children, and before the war all of them worked. Now, even if they would come here they would not find work.’

Some younger Bosniaks have begun returning to Tegare; however, they are severely limited by the lack of employment opportunities in the region. One such man, Adnan, just returned to a life of subsistence agriculture in Tegare from what seems to have been a relatively comfortable life abroad a few months ago. When asked why he decided to return he said, ‘This is my birthplace,’ with a small smile.

Another young Bosniak, Munira, said that she returned because, ‘I love it here. Even though there aren’t young people here, I love this place. The best thing is when you come to your own [place]. Sarajevo has a lot of young people, but I like it here more than in Sarajevo.’ Her parents said that before the war, she would have found work already in a local store or elsewhere—now she has finished twelve years of school but remains unemployed. Munira told me that she imagines she will always live in Tegare.

The Bosniaks’ return to Tegare, although clearly a result of a sense of attachment to their place of birth and the homes that are rightly theirs, was not born only of such sentiments. The return was organized through the personal efforts of Sabrija Halilović, the president of the returnees, who worked closely with the government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to facilitate the return. This process began in 1998, and continues today as more than 22 houses remain completely destroyed and without electricity or water supplies in ‘Upper Tegare,’ the area that was once the heart of the village.

‘We all worked together, we had meetings, once we had everyone attending meetings we decided the best way to return... We were about 150 people [at the meetings]. We came to one destroyed house—it didn’t have doors, it didn’t have windows. There 12 of us stayed, the first day it really snowed, it was very cold. We made a list of returnees because we wanted organizations to come here to build houses.’ (Sabrija Halilović) The return took place on 23.March, 2002.

As the Bosniaks returned to Tegare, they were frequently welcomed by the Serbs living in Tegare, their pre-war neighbors. As Medina remembered, ‘When we returned, the Serbs gave us eggs, milk, cheese, tomatoes, peppers, onions...they put their hands out to us. They are our neighbors and they helped us.’ Other Bosniaks tell stories of crying together with their Serb neighbors when they returned to Tegare—despite the classification of this as a ‘difficult’ return, it seems that it went off without major conflict.

Soon after the Bosniaks returned, CARE International began working in Tegare and built the first 17 returnee homes. According to Sabrija Halilović, ‘Most of the time the organization did the work, we helped with a little materials, a little time.’ Other organizations came and, according to Sabrija, promised to build a certain number of houses but never did so. Most recently, UMCOR has built 2 wooden-houses in the community, including the first reconstructed home in ‘Upper Tegare.’

Today, Sabrija Halilović continues to serve as the primary leader of Bosniak Tegare and is identified as such by both Serbs and Bosniaks. Bosniaks seem to trust Sabrija completely and often approach him for help. ‘Here we can help each other but not with everything. For example, neighbors for one thing. When we need something, we go to Sabrija, this is a source of help,’ said Medina.

Relationships between the ‘Two Tegares’

‘If we look at each other with hate, there is no life.’

-Petar

Despite the fact that Sabrija Halilović’s most established leadership role is that of president of the Bosniak returnees, he seems to be respected and, at least to a certain point, trusted by Serb men as well. One Serb man said that when he needs help he goes to the MZ or to Sabrija. Petar, when asked who would step forward to solve a community-wide problem, ‘Since Sabrija came here, he has somehow been a great man. I don’t know how to explain it, in which way to say it, but he is a man of good sense.’

Petar, Sabrija Halilović, and many others expressed concern at the plight of their neighbors of both ethnicities. According to Eni Kurtović, a Mozaik staff member who visited Tegare in June 2004, ‘I was impressed by Sabrija. When I asked what else he wanted to do in the community, he mentioned his (Serb) neighbor whose son died. He said she wanted to help her. He would like some aid to help her build a fence because she is having problems with her chickens. That is an indication that these people want to live together again.’

When asked about the level of trust between neighbors, community residents varied in their responses. Of 18 interview subjects who answered this question directly, 11

indicated that they trust their neighbors, four said that they do not trust their neighbors, one indicated simply that neighbors have never hated each other, and two responded that they did not know if they trust their neighbors.¹⁵ The responses did not follow any significant pattern with respect to ethnicity or gender; although the two young people interviewed did voice distrust.

Sead began answering the question about trust between neighbors hesitatingly, pursing his lips together. 'So much I trust, and so much I do not trust. I would know who is for my returnees. What do I know...' he drifted off.

Shaking her head, Danijela replied, 'For myself, I can say that I do not trust [my neighbors], but for the others I am not sure of anything. I am not sure about the rest. It's not bad, but it's not good. I don't trust.' As indicated by the qualifying statement this woman made, giving voice to distrust is not entirely accepted in Tegare.

The most frequent response to questions about trust or the general situation between neighbors was some variation of, 'It is the same as it was before the war, we have never had any problems.' As Edin said, 'For now, it is good between people, it's not important if it is a Muslim or a Serb. It has never been important...we all lived together. Now it is the same.'

While it is clear that relationships between Bosniaks and Serbs living in Tegare are far better than an outsider may expect knowing the local history, it seems equally apparent that relationships between residents of different ethnicities are vastly different from the way that they were before the war. Stories from before the war, as shown in 'The Most Beautiful Village,' highlight close friendships across ethnic differences and a sense of the irrelevancy of ethnicity. In post-war Tegare, informal gatherings of community members for coffee are never mixed groups. When residents are in need of sugar or another form of non-urgent assistance, they approach community members of their own ethnicity. Despite efforts to preserve a vision of community life that is in concert with pre-war Tegare, it is clear that things have changed.

These changes, and the level of distrust that allows them to perpetuate, are clear when examining the perceptions of 'the other' within both Serb Tegare and Bosniak Tegare. Though it is clear that both Bosniaks and Serbs in Tegare struggle to meet their subsistence needs, within each ethnic community the prevailing belief is that 'the other' is better-off.

Said one Serb woman during the focus group, '[After the war] the Muslims got everything.' As already noted, the majority of international assistance to Northeastern Bosnia during the post-war years has in fact focused on Bosniak returnees. There is a feeling of resentment based on the distribution of reconstruction assistance within the Serb community in Tegare that seems far more palpable than any remnants of wartime mistrust or resentment.

¹⁵ In many cases, I was only able to interview women in the presence of their husbands. I always tried to solicit their responses to questions as well, but often they simply agreed with what their husbands had said. In other interviews, the person I was interviewing did not answer the question directly—this situation never seemed that the individual was clearly avoiding the question but instead that he/she felt the question had already been answered by a previous story or answer or that he/she did not understand the question.

However, from the Bosniak side, there is a widespread sense of neglect and anger toward the municipal government for failing to meet their needs. The municipal government, based in Bratunac, has a reputation for Serb nationalism and the power-holding party is the Serb nationalist SDS party. According to Samir, ‘When Muslims go for help in the RS, we are always the last in line.’

‘There are some differences (in Tegare) based on the municipal assistance,’ said Emir. ‘I am mad at the municipality. People in some villages have received help to build houses. But not one of them has been in Tegare...I also listen to the television, to the radio Republika Srpska, when it says that the municipality has a donation of a million and a half marks for returnees. My village here has not gotten one pfennig.’

While this million and a half mark donation is uncorroborated, it is abundantly clear that despite their varying perceptions of ‘the other’ within their village, Serbs and Muslims alike are unsatisfied with the support that they have received from the municipality. In addition, while the sources of funding are different and while Bosniaks did receive a larger amount of assistance during the initial return process, it seems that both communities are receiving equally inadequate support from all sources at this point—and they continue to receive support from different sources almost three years after the return process began.

Forging a new Tegare

‘We worked together so that we would have the road. We hadn’t worked together since the war, but on this road Serbs and Muslims worked together. [As far as relationships are concerned], until now, you can’t change things. We talk, we chat.’ His wife jumps in, ‘We chat nicely! Therefore we work together.’

-Boris

CARE International continued to be involved with reconstruction in Tegare and in 2003 incorporated civil society development into its Integrated Sustainable Return Project in Tegare. Mozaik was involved with this civil society component of the project through its work with the local NGO Priroda. While Mozaik’s approach usually emphasizes local responsibility, there were serious legal obstacles to constructing the road and, as such, elements of the participatory approach were omitted.¹⁶ Said one Mozaik staff member, ‘In the beginning they had meetings and agreed about priorities, but later we [Mozaik] were doing a lot of the work.’

According to Priroda staff members, the first community-wide meetings identified water as a priority problem. However, both financial and time restrictions ultimately led to the project focusing on improving the road (which was second choice) rather than the water. Conflict resolution became a major component of the project when, after the road had been identified as the problem to address, legal obstacles arose regarding ownership of the land on which it was to be constructed. Through a series of sensitive meetings with

¹⁶ The participatory approach is the methodology employed through Mozaik’s Community Driven Development Program. This approach emphasizes community residents’ participation in early meetings to design the project as well as future efforts to raise additional funds to support the project and recruit volunteers for necessary labor.

former residents of Tegare now living in Serbia and Montenegro, as well as with the mayor of Bratunac, members of Mozaik and Priroda's staff, accompanied by a small group of local citizens, were able to resolve the matter and begin work on constructing the road.

While the road runs primarily along the path of Bosniak returnee homes, it was selected as the focus of the project in part because it meets the needs of both Bosniaks and Serbs. Interestingly, few residents of Tegare remember the planning meetings before this road. Sabrija Halilović, who led the local efforts, said, 'Nothing was different about the project, but it was good for us that the road was built.' When asked specifically about the meetings before construction began, he replied, 'There were more meetings than other projects. Care and Priroda asked what we needed after the houses were done.'

Samir was one of the only people to speak about the planning meetings without being directly asked about them, and he also remembers the names of the people who attended them. 'We were all there,' he went on to then list the names of those in attendance. 'We had meetings before the project. I heard about them from Sabrija and we talked about the road. [My wife and I] gave 60 Marks so that we could get materials.' Samir is also the only person from Tegare to mention making a financial contribution to the project, and he said that he would gladly do so again if it would make life better to give money.

Petar also heard about the road from Sabrija Halilović. '(Sabrija) called the Serbs and Muslims to work together on the road. I worked on it because it would make something better ... Muslim returnees have houses up there. We need to get to the trees in the forest and some returnees need to rebuild houses up there.' This response speaks to the cross-ethnic appeal of the road, despite its location along a path between primarily Bosniak homes. In addition, Petar's references to the Muslims' need for the road demonstrated the pre-existing willingness to work not only with members of the 'other' ethnicity in Tegare but also, even more significantly, to work for their benefit.

While only eight volunteers, all men, actually participated in the construction of the road, all five of them that I interviewed reported that it was a positive experience and that they would work on a similar project again. It is also clear that they remember who did not work on the road, and while this has the potential to create a negative or divisive dynamic, it has not yet had an apparent negative impact and it may even be the beginning of an expectation of participation in collective efforts in Tegare.

Participation in the road project was clearly shaped by gender. Many Serb women indicated that they were indifferent about the road project, saying that it was for the returnees. When asked during the community mapping exercise if any of the women participated in the road project, the Bosniak women replied, 'No. That wasn't women's work.' However, they did go on to say that they helped to clear some small branches, make coffee, and help the men however they could.

In an interview later Emina said, 'We all worked on the road. We did little things to build it, whatever was needed. We all worked like that as a community for the first time on this road. We worked little by little. We helped one another.' It seems clear that although they were not included in the official 'volunteer count,' women's contributions to the road project were real.

The road project was the first project that worked to bring the Bosniaks and Serbs in Tegare together since the war. According to Samir, ‘Until then we weren’t with our neighbors. Now we have worked to build the road.’

A Less Obvious Division

‘I would not say there is a really good relationship, but there is a relationship.’
-Stanka

It is clear, that Muslims and Serbs are willing to work together for future projects or activities that benefit both populations and even are willing to help one another when the primary benefit is seen as going to the opposite ethnic group. The relationship between Muslims and Serbs has been improving since the Bosniaks’ return to Tegare three years ago, though the situation was never overwhelmingly negative. As Boris said, ‘I trust. What happened, happened, and now I trust. Everything with time.’

However, it also seems that it might be a very long time before there is another project through which the two communities will come together. Following the road project, Priroda again brought the Serbs and Bosniaks together through a ‘Women’s Action Team’ project, in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme. The action team consisted of 15 women, Serbs and Bosniaks from Tegare and the neighboring village of Orlica. The project included four action team meetings focusing on team work, future-planning, assigning economic value to women’s household work, domestic violence, and training in seeking outside help to solve problems. At the conclusion of the project, there were 4.000KM available for a project identified by the women. The women wanted to address the problems with the water supply in Tegare, which was a far more expensive project than the Action Team budget allowed for. Priroda and the women went to the local government seeking additional help and attempted to resolve the water issue.¹⁷

While the water supply in Zapolje, serving Tegare and Orlica, was opened in June 2004, women in Tegare still most frequently cite the inadequate water supply as the most significant problem facing Tegare.¹⁸ As Branka, who participated in the Action Team, said with palpable frustration, ‘It would have been better if we had only 3 or 4 people and got something done. What good are meetings when I still have no water?’

The Action Team project highlighted the importance of including a tangible improvement to community life even in ‘civil society’ projects. The Action Team project included only minimal support for a community improvement project and as such was unable to sufficiently improve community life. Just as positive collective efforts contribute to building faith and increasing participation in future endeavors, so too do negative experiences contribute to a hesitancy to participate in future projects and a lack of faith in the collective action process.

¹⁷ Information in this paragraph relies on an interview with a Priroda staff member.

¹⁸ The United Nations Development Programme's Srebrenica Regional Recovery Project cites the water opening in Zapolje as a success story. It may be that the water project had a greater impact in Orlica, which is closer to Zapolje than Tegare. See <http://www.srrp.undp.ba/shnews.asp?idItem=113>.

As noted, the Action Team project also sought to bring together women from Tegare and Orlica. This was an ambitious project, because the divisions between Tegare and Orlica are much clearer than the ethnic divisions within Tegare itself. Orlica, like Tegare, is a majority Serb community with a significant group of Bosniak returnees. As in Tegare, it seems that Bosniaks and Serbs in Orlica generally get along and are able to come together for activities of mutual benefit. Members of a small focus group of Serb women from Tegare even said that, ‘We, the women, spend time together casually, also with the returnees.’

Asked if there are any differences between Tegare and Orlica, the women in this group responded that ‘Everything is similar.’ They went on to talk about the problem of inadequate electricity, which they saw as the main problem facing both Orlica and Tegare. Residents of Tegare were unlikely to cite electricity as the major problem facing the village, and in fact only one person interviewed mentioned problems with electricity. Instead, as discussed already, residents of Tegare were likely to cite problems of not having water as the major problem that their community faced. Residents of Tegare seem far more concerned about the water supply than the electricity, despite the fact that ‘Upper Tegare’ remains completely disconnected from electricity and therefore unsuitable for the return of both Serbs and Bosniaks.

While all eight of the people that I spoke with from Orlica believed that Tegare and Orlica face the same problems and are equally poor, residents of Tegare rarely felt the same way. While unemployment is a major problem in both villages, it seems that residents of Orlica enjoy a slightly higher living standard, indicated by their possession of farm machines and their homes.

Moving Forward

‘That I might live how I ought to. That I might live.’

-Danijela

However, Orlica and Tegare are on some level similar given that both are plagued by chronic poverty and unemployment. When asked what type of project he thought could bring Serbs and Muslims together again to improve community life in Tegare, Sabrija Halilović replied, ‘The best would be a small firm, a mini-firm with maybe 50 employees—maybe to do something in the field or with animals. No one has work.’ The focus group of women in Orlica discussed a similar idea for a dairy cooperative.

According to the municipality’s development strategy, unemployment in Bratunac municipality, which includes Tegare, is surprisingly low by BiH standards—at 18.1% the unemployment rate is in fact less than half that of the national average.¹⁹ However, this unemployment rate is still well more than twice the pre-war unemployment rate in the municipality. The development strategy paper also points to the potential of agricultural products such as berries, and also notes the obstacles of inadequate machinery and

¹⁹*Strategic Plan for Economic Development of Bratunac Municipality*. Department for Economy and Public Services, Page 26. Available from: <http://www.srrp.undp.ba/municipalities/Bratunac%20strategy.pdf>.

insufficient infrastructure (including roads and electricity) prevalent throughout the municipality.

It is important to note that the economic problems facing Tegare are not problems facing Tegare in isolation but instead regional, chronic problems of underdevelopment and incomplete reconstruction. The responsibility for reconstructing the infrastructure and economy does lie in part with the local government, and as such the citizens of Tegare should be able to appeal to the municipal government for such assistance.

Voter turnout from Tegare is remarkably high, and most people said that they voted so that, '(things) will be better.' That expression of hope is usually followed by a quiet, angry, 'However, nothing is better.' (Edin) This loyalty to the political process and disappointment in its results appeared across ethnic, gender and age lines in Tegare.

As Samir said, 'We vote for a better life.' He shared a laugh with his wife. 'They promise us everything, but later ... (He paused.) ... the municipality has never come here. And we have never looked for them. We count on CARE and international organizations for help.'

Apparently, in their reliance on external organizations, the people of Tegare have become accustomed to expecting, and in turn demanding, very little of the local municipal authorities. People often said that they would go to the municipality if they needed help of some sort, but could almost never provide an example of a time when they had in fact gone to the municipality seeking such help.

Over the course of both the road and Action Team projects, citizens of Tegare (along with Priroda staff) approached the government and, in fact, received financial assistance and public support for their work. In the case of the road, support from the mayor and others in the municipality was essential to resolving the legal dispute.²⁰ The road project was the first time that Priroda attempted to work with the government in such a manner, and this is a strategy that the organization has now incorporated into its other projects.

One Priroda staff member commented, 'I think we have an open door to the government, because we put Serbs and Bosniaks together. People have started coming to Priroda and telling us their problems, and then Priroda goes to the government as a bridge. We are seen (by the government) as a relevant party, and our work is appreciated.'

If this ability to work across ethnic lines, and especially with both domicile and returnee populations, does in fact appeal to the local government, Tegare should be able to position itself well for future support from the municipality. However, the municipal government has also cooperated extensively with the local Mjesna Zajednica in its efforts. By continuing to keep themselves at arms length from the MZ, residents of Tegare are losing opportunities for cooperation with residents of Orlica and the municipal government alike. Many residents of Tegare expressed concern or dissatisfaction with the current Mjesna Zajednica because they do not feel that it represents them. Elections are taking place at the end of 2004, perhaps by becoming involved and attempting to work with the new leadership of the MZ residents of Tegare can begin to move forward.

²⁰ Informal interview with Zoran Puljić, Executive Director, Mozaik Foundation.

Priroda has no specific plans for future projects in Tegare, and, according to one staff member, “We want to step back a little, to see how well they can solve their problems. They have not learned well...they cannot take their lives into their own hands.’ It seems that part of this problem is the fact that Priroda has yet to pass on its staff’s newfound advocacy skills to the people of Tegare.

Tegare feels like a community in waiting in many ways—above all else, it seems to be a community in waiting for external assistance to arrive. When asked if they can make life better, the most frequent responses expressed a sense of powerlessness without external assistance. As Azra and many others said, ‘(We could make things better) if we had some help. Alone, we cannot do anything, only with foreigners. Here we don’t have (anything). We wait for the government (to help) but have nothing. They are not interested in my life; no one has come to see how I live.’

Despite Sabrija Halilović’s experience attracting and dealing with international organizations assisting the returnees, it seems that there are very few individuals in Tegare with the confidence and ability to speak effectively with government officials. Said one Priroda staff member who has solicited help from the local government for a number of projects in the last year, ‘When you have 5.000 KM and ask them for 1.000 you will get it, but when you have nothing then they will give you nothing.’

While certainly Tegare’s poverty would prevent its citizens from being able to approach the government with 5.000KM in hand for a given project, the story of Tegare told here reveals other assets that Tegare has to draw upon for its own improvement and to offer the municipality as a form of local contribution to the project. Residents of Tegare were employed in a number of relevant fields before the war, among them construction and plumbing. In addition, the citizens of Tegare have shown themselves to be able to work together across ethnic lines and for the benefit of both populations. The local resources upon which Tegare’s citizens have to draw are largely human resources: their ability to supply labor and to effectively work together. Unfortunately, they have been inhibited by their inability to capitalize on such resources without outside impetus for any given project.

This comes in part from the citizen’s chronic disappointment with their government and their lack of faith that things might improve. However, given Priroda’s ability to improve upon its relationship with the government in the last year, were citizens of Tegare able to draw up their own plan for how to address a given problem, for example the water inadequacies, it seems that soliciting outside support would be possible, and certainly less daunting than the task remains now.

Tegare is a village that possesses great potential, especially in its chance to serve as an example of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina rediscovering their ability to live side by side in peace and mutual cooperation with their neighbors irrespective of ethnicity. The primary dilemma facing Tegare, and the question that people in Tegare must answer if they are to continue moving forward, was put to me by Sabrija:

‘We do not know where to begin. What do we do?’

I am going to begin asking some questions about you, your family, and your home.

1. How old are you? Where were you born?
2. Did you ever go to school?
3. Do you have a job? Have you ever had a job?
4. How many people live in this house? Who are they? (age, relation to interviewee)
5. How long have you lived in this house? Who built this house? Does this house have electricity, gas and/or water?
6. When did you move to _____? Where did you go during the war? Before the war, had you always lived in _____?
7. Why did you return to _____?
8. Do you have any family members that do not live in _____? Where do they live? How often do they visit _____?
9. How does your family make its living? How did your family make its living before the war?
10. Would you say that it has been extremely difficult/difficult/or not difficult to support your needs and the needs of your family in the past year?
11. How is the situation with your neighbors now?
12. How often do you see your neighbors? Do you think of them as friends? Do you ever help each other? Can you give me an example?
13. Before the war, how often did you see your neighbors? Did you think of them as friends? Did you help each other? Can you give me any examples?

Now I am going to ask you some questions about life in your community. When I say your community I mean _____ -- (drawing on definition of community agreed upon during the focus group exercises during Week I.)

14. Have you ever worked with others to build a road, a school, a health center, or a water system?
15. If there were a problem that affected the entire community, for example lack of water or electricity, who do you think would work together to solve it? Who do you think would be first to start this work? Where do you think money and materials would come from?
16. Suppose someone in this community had something unfortunate happen to them, such as a death in the family or a money problem. Who do you think that they could turn to for help?
17. Where do you go when you need help? Where do you go for advice?
18. Suppose two people in this community had a fairly serious problem with each other. Who do you think would resolve that problem?

19. Do you think there are differences between the people living in _____?
What are they?

As needed, probe with the following:

Differences in education
Differences in wealth/material possessions
Differences between men and women
Differences between younger and older generations
Difference between old inhabitants and new settlers
Differences in religious beliefs
Differences in ethnic background

Do these differences cause problems? Did they cause problems before the war?

20. Do you think people in this community trust each other?
21. Do you think over the last two years this level of trust here has gotten better, gotten worse or stayed the same? Is this level of trust better, worse or the same as it was before the war?
22. What is a problem facing _____ now? Have you tried to solve it? How/Why not?
23. Do you think that you are able to do things to make this community a better place to live? What can you do?
24. What 3 words come to mind when you think about _____?
25. Does it mean anything special to live in _____?
26. Does it mean anything special to be from _____?

I am going to begin with a few questions about you and your family.

How old are you? Where were you born?
Did you ever go to school?
Do you have a job? Have you ever had a job?
When did you move to _____? Where did you live during the war? Before the war, had you always lived in _____?
Why did you return to _____? Who do you live with in _____ now? Who did you live with in _____ before the war?
Do you have any family members that do not live in _____? Where do they live? How often do they visit _____?
How does your family make its living? How did your family make its living before the war?
Would you say that it has been extremely difficult/difficult/or not difficult to support your needs and the needs of your family in the past year?

Now I am going to ask you some questions about activities in this community.

Do you consider yourself a main person (jedan od glavnih) in your community? How did you become a main person here?
Do others in the community see you as a main person?
Do you organize community activities? Can you tell me about the most recent one?
Do you have any activities planned for the next month? The next six months? The next year?
Who do you organize these activities with? Who participates in them? How do you spread information about activities within your community?
Have you worked with any associations (udruženja) or NGOs on any projects? Have you received funding from any associations or NGOs? Which ones and for what?
Have you approached the government for any kind of assistance? Can you tell me about how they responded to you?
Have you tried to get other community members to organize activities or help out with activities? Have you been successful? Can you tell me why?
Do you feel like you are able to change your community?

Now I am going to ask you a few questions about _____.

What is the biggest problem facing _____? Are you trying to do anything to solve that? Why or why not?

Do you think there are differences between the people living in _____?
What are they?

As needed, probe with the following:

- Differences in education
- Differences in wealth/material possessions
- Differences between men and women
- Differences between younger and older generations
- Difference between old inhabitants and new settlers
- Differences in religious beliefs
- Differences in ethnic background

Do these differences cause problems? Did they cause problems before the war?

Do you think people in this community trust each other?

Do you think over the last two years this level of trust here has gotten better,
gotten worse or stayed the same? Is this level of trust better, worse or the
same as it was before the war?

What three words do you think of first when I say _____?

Does it mean anything special to be from _____?

I am going to ask some questions about your organization.

How was your organization created?

What kinds of activities has it been involved in?

What is the main purpose of your organization today? Has this changed over time?

How do you distribute information about activities?

Do you have any activities planned in Tegare during the next month? Six months? Year?

Has your organization ever asked anything of the government? (How did they respond?) Which level(s) of government have you been involved with? Has a government official ever asked your organization to do something? (What did he/she ask of you? How did you respond?)

Now I am going to ask you some questions about Tegare.

What is the biggest problem facing Tegare? Are you trying to do anything to solve that? Why or why not?

Do you think there are differences between the people living in Tegare? What are they?

As needed, probe with the following:

Differences in education

Differences in wealth/material possessions

Differences between men and women

Differences between younger and older generations

Difference between old inhabitants and new settlers

Differences in religious beliefs

Differences in ethnic background

Do these differences cause problems? Did they cause problems before the war?

Do you think people in this community trust each other?

Do you think over the last two years this level of trust here has gotten better, gotten worse or stayed the same? Is this level of trust better, worse or the same as it was before the war?

Is Tegare different from other communities that you work in? How?

What three words do you think of first when I say _____?